

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6830

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 3227

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT XF IS EG US

SUBJ: LABOR ALIGNMENT CONCLUDES DEBATE ON GOI

APPROACH TO PEACE NEGTOATIONS

REF: TEL AVIV 3098

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN VIGOROUS DEFENSE OF HIS POLICIES PRIMIN
RABIN ON MAY 26 IN CONCLUDING LABOR ALIGNMENT DEBATE ON GOI PEACE
NEGOTIATIONS CALLED FOR CONTINUATION OF SETTLEMENT-BY-STAGES
APPROACH AND NO FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO EGYPT UNLESS
ISRAEL RECEIVES SIGNIFICANT QUID-PRO-QUO. COMMERCE AND
INDUSTRY MINISTER BAR-LEV, WHILE ADMITTING PROGRESS
IN EGYPT'S STAND DURING RECENT NEGOTIATIONS,
SAID ISRAEL COULD NOT SURRENDER PASSES AND OIL FIELDS
WITHOUT ADEQUATE POLITICAL CONCESSIONS IN RETURN. POLICE
MINISTER HILLEL ALSO SUPPORTED RABIN GOVERNMENT'S STAND
ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH EGYPT. IN SERIES OF THREE DEBATES ON GOI
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APPROACH TO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, ROUGHLY HALF OF SPEAKERS URGED
GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND/OR A SHIFT
TO AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT APPROACH. AT NO POINT WERE GOI'S
POLICIES SERIOUSLY CHALLENGED, HOWEVER. RABIN HIMSELF EMERGED

FIRMLY IN CHARGE. HIS POLICIES APPEAR LIKELY TO REMAIN UN-
CHANGED. THEY WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO RECEIVE THE WIDESPREAD
POLITICAL AND PUBLIC SUPPORT THAT THEY HAVE ENJOYED SINCE TALKS
BROKE DOWN IN MARCH. END SUMMARY.

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

2. LABOR ALIGNMENT KNESSET FACTION AND EXECUTIVE
MAY 26 CONCLUDED THE THIRD AND FINAL SESSION OF
DEBATE ON GOI APPROACH TO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.
IN ADDITION TO PRINCIPLE SPEECH BY PRIMIN RABIN,
OTHER KEY SPEAKERS INCLUDED COMMERCE AND
INDUSTRY MINISTER BAR LEV AND POLICE MINISTER
HILLEL.

3. IN WINDING UP THE DEBATE PRIMIN RABIN STRESSED
THAT THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY FOR AN OVERALL
SETTLEMENT WITH ANY SINGLE ARAB STATE SEPARATELY.
THE ONLY APPROACH TO PEACE IS THROUGH INTERIM
SETTLEMENTS, PRIMARILY WITH EGYPT. RABIN
EMPHASIZED THAT HE DID NOT REGARD INTERIM
SETTLEMENTS AS THE LAST WORD, BUT AS A BEGINNING
OF A PROCESS OF A CHANGE IN THE FABRIC OF RELATIONS
AND THE CREATION OF A MORE RELAXED ATMOSPHERE THAT
WOULD MAKE A DIALOGUE POSSIBLE.

4. OVERALL SETTLEMENT: RABIN SAID THAT VARIOUS
POSSIBILITIES FOR OVERALL SETTLEMENTS HAD BEEN
EXPLORED. " WE EXAMINED A NUMBER OF IDEAS THROUGH
VARIOUS CHANNELS, PARTICULARLY THROUGH THE US,
FOR A SETTLEMENT WITH JORDAN. WE PROPOSED FOR
EXAMPLE THE ALLON PLAN. WE PROPOSED PLANS FOR
A FUNCTIONAL-INTERIM SETTLEMENT. PREVIOUS
GOVERNMENTS ALSO DID THAT. WE ARISED THE POSSI-
BILITY OF A JORDANIAN-ISRAELI CONFEDERATION
WHOSE PRINCIPLES WERE A UNITED JERUSALEM, ISRAELI
SECURITY CONTROL, THE RIGHT FOR JEWISH SETTLEMENT
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WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF JORDANIAN LAWS AND
OPEN BORDERS. WE RECEIVED NEGATIVE ANSWERS
TO ALL THESE PLANS..." RABIN CONCLUDED THAT HE
SAW NO CHANCE FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT.

5. MAPS: RABIN SAID HE REFUSED TO DRAW A BORDER
MAP BUT MENTIONED THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES AS
GUIDELINES: ON THE EGYPTIAN BORDER--FURTHER DEPTH
IN THE SINAI, BEYOND THE OLD BORDER; CONTROL IN
SHARM EL SHEIKH AND TERRITORIAL CONTINUITY TO IT,
WITH THE WIDTH OF THE TERRITORIAL CONTINUITY OPEN
FOR NEGOTIATIONS. ON THE SYRIAN BORDER RABIN
SAID ISRAEL SHALL NOT DESCEND FROM THE GOLAN

HEIGHTS, ALTHOUGH IT HAS NOT DETERMINED FINALLY THE WIDTH OF THE TERRITORY IT WANTS TO MAINTAIN. HE ADDED THAT ISRAEL PROMISED THE SETTLEMENTS ON GOLAN THAT ISRAEL HAD NOT BROUGHT THEM UP THERE IN ORDER TO BRING THEM DOWN AGAIN. ON THE JORDANIAN BORDER--RABIN NOTED THAT ISRAEL PROPOSED THE ALLON PLAN AND ALSO A FUNCTIONAL PLAN, INCLUDING ISRAELI RIGHT TO SETTLE UNDER JORDANINA AUTHORITY AND OPEN BORDERS.

6. RESUMPTION OF ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATIONS: RABIN GAVE THE FOLLOWING REASONS FOR THE BREAK-DOWN OF THE INTERIM SETTLEMENT TALKS WITH EGYPT: THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ON THE DURATION OF THE AGREEMENT; ON THE PART OF EGYPT THERE WAS NO EX-PRESSION THAT THIS WAS NOT MERELY A MILITARY SETTLEMENT BUT ALSO A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT; AND ISRAEL WAS NOT PREPARED TO GIVE UP A CONSIDERABLE PART OF THE PASSES AS LONG AS THE THREAT OF WAR WAS NOT REMOVED. RABIN ADDED: "I AM CONVINCED THAT ISRAEL MUST NOT AGREE TO AND INTERIM SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE EXISTING EGYPTIAN PROPOSALS. IF EGYPT CHANGED ITS POSITIONS ON THE ISSUES WHICH PRVENTED US FROM REACHING A SETTLEMENT--THE DURATION OF THE AGREE-MENT, THE ISSUE OF THE PASSES, AND INITIAL SIGNS OF PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE--I THINK THAT ISRAEL, TOO, MUST REEXAMINE ITS PROSITIONS..."
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7. ON HIS FORTHCOMING MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FORD RABIN SAID THAT HE WOULD TRY TO REACH A GENERAL UNDERSTANDING WITH THE US. " IN ANY CASE WE ARE IN A PROCESS OF A DIALOGUE AND NOT NECESSARILY FROM A POSITION OF WEAKNESS...I THINK THAT TODAY WE ARE IN A STRONGER BARGAINING POSITION. THIS IS BECAUSE WE HAVE PROVEN BOTH A WILLINGNESS TO ADVANCE TOWARD A SETTLEMENT AND AN ABILITY TO SAY NO TO ARAB DICTATES AND PERHAPES ALSO TO US INFLUENCE..."

8. DURING COURSE OF DEBATE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY MINISTER BAR-LEV SAID THAT ISRAEL HAD SHOWN WILLINGNESS AND MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH EGYPT. HE ADMITTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN PROGRESS IN EGYPT'S STAND; EGYPT WAS PREPARED TO DECLARE THAT THE CONFLICT WAS NOT TO BE SOLVED BY MILITARY MEANS, BUT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, EGYPT WAS NOT PREPARED TO GIVE ANYTHING CONCRETE FOR THE SAKE OF STRENGTHENING THAT POSITION, E.G., DURATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE AGREEMENT, JOINT PATROLS, PASSAGE OF ISRAELI SHIPS THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL, AND SUPPLY OF OIL FROM ABU RODEIS TO

ISRAEL. IN THIS SITUATION ISRAEL COULD NOT GIVE IN, BECAUSE THE PASSES AND THE OIL FIELDS ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT ASSETS IN ISRAEL'S HANDS. BAR-LEV ADDED THAT THE TIME FOR WORKING OUT A PEACE PLAN HAS NOT YET COME. HE SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW, FOR THE SAKE OF SECURITY IT WAS PROHIBITIVE THAT ANY FOREIGN ARMY SHOULD CROSS THE RIVER JORDAN. HOWEVER, NO POPULATION CONCENTRATIONS IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA SHOULD BE ANNEXED TO ISRAEL. AS TO THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, HE SAID THAT ONE MUST NOT ARGUE THAT THERE IS NO POINT IN ESTABLISHING SETTLEMENTS IF THEY MAY HAVE TO BE REMOVED. IN CONTRAST TO RABIN HE NOTED THAT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT ISRAEL MAY HAVE TO REMOVE A SETTLEMENT IF THE SYRIANS SHOULD AGREE TO MAKE PEACE.

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CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6831

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

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9. POLICE MINISTER SHLOMO HILLEL SAID THAT IF ISRAEL HAD REACHED AN AGREEMENT AS PROPOSED BY EGYPT, IT WOULD ON THE NEXT DAY BE FACING EITHER A DEMAND BY SYRIA WHICH IT COULD NOT HAVE ACCEPTED, OR A RESUMPTION OF WAR. IN HILLEL'S OPINION A PARTIAL AGREEMENT MAKES SENSE ONLY IF IT IS DEFINED IN TERMS OF DURATION OF ITS EFFECTIVENESS, IF IT IS NOT LINKED WITH OTHER FRONTS, AND IF IT INCLUDES LIFTING OF THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT. OTHERWISE ISRAEL WOULD JUST BE GIVING

UP POSITIONS AND WILL ONLY INCREASE THE DANGER
OF WAR.

10. TRANSPORTATION MINISTER GAD YAACOBBI RECALLED
THE SERIOUS EVALUATIONS WHICH WERE MADE IMMEDIATELY
AFTER THE BREAK DOWN OF THE KISSINGER TALKS, E.G.
A RIFT BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE US OR THE IMMEDIATE
CONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. THESE
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EVALUATIONS DID NOT PROVE CORRECT, HE STRESSED.
END UNCLASSIFIED

1. COMMENT: PRINCIPLE PURPOSE SERVED BY DEBATE
APPEARED TO BE TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR LABOR
ALIGNMENT KNESSET MEMBERS AND OTHER SENIOR LEADERS,
PARTICULARLY THOSE IN OPPOSITION TO RABIN POLICY,
TO AIR THEIR VIEWS. DESPITE FACT THAT ROUGHLY
HALF OF SPEAKERS URGED MORE FLEXIBILITY ON PART OF
ISRAEL AND SOME FAVORED SHIFT TO POLICY OF SEEKING
OVERALL SETTLEMENT, NO CONSENSUS EMERGED TO FURTHER
SUCH A COURSE OF ACTION. AS RESULT OF THIS DEBATE,
THEREFORE, THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN GOI'S POLICIES.
IN DEFENDING THEM, RABIN ARGUED FIRMLY IN FAVOR OF
CONTINUING INTERIM SETTLEMENTS APPROACH, WITH NO
FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO EGYPT UNLESS EGYPT MAKES
SIGNIFICANT NEW OFFERS, POINTS HE HAS MADE PRIVATELY
AS WELL AS PUBLICLY. RABIN HIMSELF EMERGED FIRMLY
IN CHARGE, AND IT SEEMS CLEAR HIS GOVERNMENT CON-
TINUES TO RECEIVE WIDESPREAD POLITICAL AND PUBLIC
SUPPORT IT HAS ENJOYED SINCE BREAKDOWN OF LAST ISRAELI-
EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATIONS.
VELIOTES

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